Workers of the World, Unite !

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PROBLEMS OF THE NMU AND UE CONVENTIONS

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Police Aid Hoodlums' Assault On Civil Rights at Peekskill

Cops Look on at Mob Violence After Concert

Scenes like the one above were duplicated all along a four-mile stretch of one-way highway when autos leaving a concert by Paul Robeson near Peekskill, N. Y., on Sept. 4 were forced by police to run a gauntlet of rock-hurling hoodlums who injured more than 200 persons. The arrows on the left point to a rock in the air and a man in Army uniform about to heave a boulder. The arrow on the right points to two cops a short way down the road looking on and doing nothing. These hoodlums are still at large although they are easily identifiable in the original photograph.

1,100 Cops 'Look Other Way' As Mob Injures Over 200

By Art Preis

Some 250 of Governor Dewey's state troopers, 150 Westchester County police and sheriffs and about 700 "special deputies" sworn to maintain "law and order" gave protective cover to and joined in the fascist-like mob attack by 1,500 hoodlums who injured more than 200 persons, including scores of women and children, returning from the Sunday afternoon concert of Paul Robeson on Sept. 4 outside Peekskill, N. Y.

While state and county police held back concert defense guards until most of the audience had departed, other cops forced the departing cars and buses down a one-way road where rock-heaving mobsters lined up on embankments smashed hundreds of windows and wind-shields as laughing police "looked the other way."

Injured occupants of cars who halted to ask police protection and first aid were brutally ordered to "keep moving" between a gauntlet of lynch-crazy hoodlums, mobilized by the American Legion and other reactionary organizations, who shouted anti-Semitic and anti-Negro epithets at their victims.

PLANNED AMBUSH

The 850 local police and "deputies," together with the 250 burly state troopers, had had little difficulty handling the mob before and during the concert where more than 15,000 heard Robeson sing. Around the perimeter of the audience an organized guard of 2,500, mainly unionists and veterans, stood prepared to defend the concert and unquestionably would have given a first-class account of themselves if the mobsters had dared to make a frontal assault.

But the forces of "law and order," together with local leaders of the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Catholic War Veterans and Jewish War Veterans, had a carefully worked-out strategy to break up the defense of the concert, scatter the concert-goers and force them into an ambush prepared in advance under the approving eyes of the police and officials.

That strategy became clear at the end of the concert when police diverted all cars and buses from the concert grounds into one route along which the attackers were lined, with numerous police interspersed among them. There was no chance for self-defense. Individual cars, occasionally slowed up by police to make them easier targets, were sitting ducks for a shower of rocks and boulders along a four-mile stretch of highway. At least eight cars were overturned with their occupants in them.

For hours Sunday night, bat-

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Southern Klansmen Hail Peekskill

Oil-soaked KKK crosses, accompanied by signs reading "We protest Paul Robeson and Communism," were burned in six Florida and Georgia towns on the night of Sept. 3, the day before fascist mobsters made their second assault on a Robeson concert outside Peekskill, N. Y.

Describing the cross-burnings at Tallahassee, Jacksonville, Crawfordville, Quincy and Monticello, Fla., and Valdosta, Ga., Ku Klux Klan National Adjutant Bill Hendrix said it was "only the beginning. The crosses will begin to burn north of the Mason-Dixon line tonight or soon thereafter."

Skoglund Wins New Hearing in Deportation Case

NEW YORK, Sept. 10 — The U. S. Board of Immigration Appeals has ordered a rehearing in the case of Carl Skoglund, 65-year old Minnesota union leader, who was found subject to deportation on March 30 of this year by the Assistant Commissioner of Immigration. Skoglund's appeal was argued by Stanley H. Lowell, former Assistant U. S. District Attorney in New York City and member of the Alien Civil Rights Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Skoglund was held for deportation on the charge of admitting membership in the Socialist Workers Party ten years ago. The former president of Teamsters Local 544 in Minneapolis was one of the 18 leaders of that union and members of the Socialist Workers Party convicted in 1941 as the first victims of the thought-control Smith Gag Act. In 1944-45 Skoglund served a 16-month sentence in federal prison in Sandstone, Minn. despite protests of labor organizations representing over five million members.

The Immigration Appeals Board based its decision to reopen his case on two main grounds. One was to ascertain whether Skoglund was qualified for discretionary relief which is granted in case of extreme personal hardship. The Board likewise recognized the contention of the defense that the deportation warrant was issued after an inadequate examination and upon incomplete evidence. Skoglund is now out on bond.

PAYS FOR LOYALTY

The government's deportation action against Skoglund originated in 1941 during the conflict over union democracy between Teamsters Local 544 and Daniel Tobin, head of the AFL Teamsters International, which resulted in the indictment of the 18. Shortly before his arrest, the FBI, through an intermediary, offered Skoglund American citizenship and immunity from deportation if he would testify against his union associates at the forthcoming trials. Skoglund rejected this proposed deal and has since suffered the consequences of his loyalty to labor.

Last April the administration suddenly reopened deportation proceedings against him as part of the witch-hunt against foreign-born labor leaders. George Novack, national secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee which is in charge of Skoglund's defense, declared:

"The granting of our appeal to reopen Skoglund's case is a signal victory in the fight to halt his deportation. This honorable labor veteran has already been heavily penalized for his beliefs and union activities. We hope that a new hearing will permit him to spend the rest of his life in this country free and unmolested, as decency and justice demands."

The Civil Rights Defense Committee is conducting a nation-wide campaign to raise funds for Skoglund's defense. Contributions should be sent to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 19 W. 10th St., New York 11, N. Y.

CARL SKOGLUND

Goodrich Strikers Dig In for Tough Struggle

AKRON, Sept. 5 — The Goodrich workers in seven plants throughout the country observed Labor Day guarding the gates of the struck company.

No attempts had been made to crash the picket lines in any of the plants. The striking workers settled down to dig in for what all felt would be a long siege.

In the Akron hall of Local 5 an efficient strike kitchen served hot meals 24 hours a day. Pickets working six-hour shifts conducted pinochle marathons; in tents thrown up at the gates, quiet groups played cards and discussed the strike, cursed the company, damned the Wall Street bosses who set the policy for the company negotiators, and mourned four unionists who had fallen dead within the past three days, victims of heart attacks.

UNION CASUALTIES

The daily strike bulletin, the Local 5 Picket, called attention to the death of International Secretary-Treasurer Charles Lanning, who was stricken in the offices of Alan Haywood in Washington; Ollie Sense, an old time Local 5 member; Glenn Murray, a member of the union since 1933; and C. G. Wright, also one of the founders of Local 5. For the leader and for the rank and file stalwarts who had passed away the pickets bowed their heads.

It was a strike without violence thus far — but with casualties.

Those rank and file workers who had died of heart attacks had slaved their lives away in the plants, had worked during the back-breaking speedup regime before the union. The strikers felt they were victims of the company as surely as though they had been shot dead by strikebreakers; they were victims of the cruel exploitation which prevails in the Goodrich system.

These workers were symbols of all the union was fighting against; the company in negotiations had insisted upon contract provisions which would have brought back what Local 5 Vice President W. R. Childers had referred to in a radio talk as "the violent speedup which shortened lives."

"ONE COMMON CAUSE"

On Sept. 3 officers of all CIO locals in the Akron area met and adopted a statement characterizing the Goodrich strike "One Common Cause." The statement, signed by about 75 officers of 47 affiliated locals of the CIO here, was supported by I. H. Watson, president of Firestone Local 7, who is an outstanding supporter of L. S. Buckmaster and opponent of George R. Bass, strike leader and president of Local 5, as well as many other representatives of all factions in the union.

The statement declared, "The smears of the daily press will not succeed in breaking labor's solid front in support of this program." The document continued, "We are 100% resolutely behind the Goodrich strikers. Their cause is our cause, it is your cause, it is Akron's cause."

In his radio speech observing one week of the strike, Local 5 Vice President W. R. Childers strongly exposed the Goodrich company's refusal to sign a decent union contract.

"WE ARE EXPENDABLE"

"They have demanded more work for less pay," he said. "The management has demanded we pledge maximum production, but has refused to pledge maximum protection for the workers. They want to go back to the days of the back-breaking speedup—the days before the CIO.

"How many mangled arms, how many hands, how many legs, how many lives and limbs have

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SWP Protests to Dewey, Demands Real Investigation

NEW YORK, Sept. 7 — The following telegram was sent to Gov. Dewey today by Michael Bartell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York, Gladys Barker for President of City Council, Harry Ring for Controller and Harold Robbins for Pres. of the Boro of Man.

"We charge the officials of Westchester County and the State of New York with complicity in the Nazi-like assault on the Robeson concert. The evidence of collusion by local officials and police with the fascist scum is irrefutable. Your failure to provide adequate protection to the people attending the concert, your failure to take action against the criminals and the local officials who protected and aided them makes you an accomplice to the crime, no less guilty than the cowardly hoodlums who stoned defenseless people.

"Your phony 'investigation' is being conducted by the very officials who should be investigated. We demand that this fraud be stopped and a genuine investigating committee established, composed of representatives of the labor, civil liberties and Negro organizations, with the aim of punishing all those guilty of the Peekskill outrage."

CORPORATIONS CONTINUE PROVOCATIONS TO UNIONS

The corporations are continuing their challenging and provocative attitude toward union wage and pension demands. East coast longshore employers last week followed the pattern set by the steel, auto, electrical equipment, rubber and coal profiteers.

In negotiations with the AFL International Longshoremen's Association, the New York Shipping Association, representing the employers in the New York area, rejected all union demands and countered with a demand for a 13-cent cut in hourly wage rates.

This arrogant demand, characterized as an "insult" by the ILA negotiating committee, has provoked the threat of strike even from ILA President Joseph P. Ryan, a notoriously reactionary union bureaucrat. Contracts covering 65,000 ILA members along the entire east coast expire Sept. 30.

STRIKE POSSIBILITY

The signs point more and more to a gigantic strike wave within the next weeks unless the big corporations retreat at the last moment from their completely unyielding stand. They appear determined, however, to push the unions to the wall.

The CIO United Rubber Workers has taken the lead in the CIO wage fight by authorizing the strike of 17,500 Goodrich workers when Goodrich turned down all union proposals and demanded a return to pre-contract conditions that would place union security at the mercy of the company.

The attempt to set a national pattern for wage and pension settlements through Truman's "fact finding" procedure in steel appears headed for the rocks. The steel barons brazenly stated throughout the hearings before Truman's three-man board that they will accept no recommendations that will give even a cent more to the steel workers.

As for the recommendations which the steel "fact-finders" are scheduled to make in a report to Truman not later than Sept. 10, no hope is held out in labor circles that the CIO steel union's demands for a wage increase, health insurance and pensions totalling a 30-cent hourly boost will be approved by Truman's board. Speculation is rife that the board will recommend a "package" increase of less than ten cents an hour, possibly as little as five cents.

The attitude of Big Business is expressed in the Sept. 3 Business Week. It calls on the steel industry "to make the fight" and "reject any award of the tribunal which is at variance with what it is prepared to grant its employees in voluntary collective bargaining." It urges the steel masters to make this stand even though the industry "may very likely be struck."

CALL TO ARMS

This is a call to arms for a concerted stand by America's monopolies. It reflects the evident determination of the major industrialists and finance capitalists not to yield an inch to the just demands of the workers who for months have sought vainly to reason across the conference tables with the profiteers of U. S. Steel Ford, Chrysler, General Electric and other giant corporations.

But the exploiters remain unmoved. They are touching off an explosion of class struggle that may see 3,000,000 workers on picket lines before another month is out. The corporations are preparing energetically for the battle. It is up to the CIO to make equal preparations, to formulate a unified strategy of action, to mobilize all its affiliates and fight with all its concerted power.

Yugoslavia Needs Help of Labor Movement

An Editorial

From the beginning of the break between the Kremlin and the Yugoslav Communist Party, the Trotskyist movement the world over has recognized the progressive character of the Yugoslav struggle. We also recognized and warned against the dangers facing Yugoslavia, both from Western imperialism and from Stalinism, which we knew is incapable of countenancing any independent development on the part of Yugoslavia.

At that time both the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International foresaw three possible outcomes to the conflict: a capitulation by the Tito regime to the Kremlin; the absorption of Yugoslavia into the imperialist orbit; or an independent revolutionary struggle by Yugoslavia against both imperialism and Stalinism.

Road to Capitulation Closed

It is possible to say now that the road to a capitulation has been completely closed. Stalin cannot possibly find any compromise in this conflict without endangering his position in the satellite countries and within the Soviet Union itself. Moreover the Yugoslavs realize that a compromise could only be of a temporary character, leading sooner or later to the physical as well as political extermination of the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party — the fate of all those oppositional tendencies who "compromised" with Stalinism in the past.

The economic and political pressure of Stalinism has been enormous during this entire struggle, but the Yugoslav ranks have remained solid and there have been no important defections to Stalinism. On the other hand, Stalin in this same period has had to resort to repeated purges of leading individuals and groups in the satellite countries, indicating that the masses as well as sections of the bureaucracy in these countries are just waiting for an opportunity to overthrow the Kremlin's yoke, and that Yugoslavia's resistance thus far has been a source of great encouragement to them.

The imperialists, taking advantage of the openings given them by Stalinism, are carrying on a careful campaign to bring the Tito regime over to their own camp. The latest move in this direction is the attempt of the British to induce the Yugoslav government to bring its case against the Kremlin before the United Nations.

Stalin, for his part, would a thousand times rather drive Yugoslavia into the arms of imperialism than permit it to exist as an independent force. All his actions confirm the July 13, 1948 warning, made by the International Secretariat of the Fourth International in an open letter to the Yugoslav Communist Party, that the Stalinists would "work furiously to create the greatest economic difficulties for you so as to force you to capitulate or to surrender completely to Yankee imperialism, in order thereby to 'demonstrate' to world working class opinion that every rupture with Moscow signifies going over to the 'American camp.'"

But despite the pressure from both sides, the Yugoslavs have so far refused to make any political concessions to the imperialists as the price for the normalization of trade with the West, loans, etc. They apparently realize that their fight against Stalinism would become hopelessly compromised if they made common cause with decadent capitalism; that the progressive character of their struggle would be destroyed; and that they would lose the mass support which alone sustains them in the conflict with Moscow.

For it is undeniable that the masses in Eastern Europe, as well as in Western Europe where Marshall Plan money has been poured in by the billions, remain firmly anti-capitalist and are striving for a socialist society. This is the main driving force of Yugoslavia's resistance as well as an indication of how profoundly the prestige of world capitalism has declined.

The third course indicated by us at the beginning of the Stalin-Tito conflict — namely, the struggle for an Independent Workers and Peasants Yugoslavia, as the first step toward a Balkan Socialist Federation — remains the only one conforming to the socialist strivings of the masses and the necessities of the struggle against Stalinism and imperialism.

The Way to Win the Fight

To follow this course it is necessary to root out not only all tendencies looking toward capitulation either to Washington or Moscow, but all vestiges of Stalinism as well — in program, in policy and in method. It is necessary to take the struggle out of the confines of the exchange of diplomatic notes, to have confidence in the power and initiative of the workers both inside and outside of Yugoslavia, to turn to the world working class for support.

In turn, it is the duty of the socialist and working class movement everywhere, and particularly in the United States, to help Yugoslavia break down its isolation by coming to its support and mercilessly exposing the reactionary designs of both Stalinism and imperialism.

2 FLA. NEGROES FACE CHAIR, 3RD GETS LIFE

After "deliberating" for two hours last week, a lily-white jury in Florida condemned two Negro youths to the electric chair and a third to life imprisonment on charges of "rape." The trial itself was a rushed-up mockery of justice, lasting less than two days, and climaxed the anti-Negro pogrom which broke out early this summer at Groveland, Fla.

The three victims of lynch-law were Samuel Shepherd and Walter Irvin, 22-year old veterans who were sentenced to die, and Charles Greenlee, 16. They were accused of raping Mrs. Norma Lee Padgett on a country road near Groveland on the night of July 16.

The cry of "rape" was just what the Ku Klux Klan elements in the area had been waiting for. It served as the signal for an immediate mob assault on the Negro community in Groveland, in which their homes were shot up and burned and 400 Negroes were forced to flee for their lives, hiding in the woods and swamps.

All this, like the frameup trial that followed, was part of the white supremacist campaign to terrorize back "into their place" the Negroes who had begun to complain about the peonage conditions they were forced to live under.

POLICE "PERSUASION"

Mrs. Padgett claimed she had been assaulted by four men. Shepherd and Irvin, who lived in the community, were picked up; so was Greenlee, a hitch-hiker from another part of the state who arrived in Groveland only on the day of the alleged crime. A sheriff's posse, hunting in the woods for a fourth man, came across Ernest Thomas, a 27-year old Negro who they said was acting "suspicious," and shot him to death in cold blood.

The woman obediently identified the three defendants as the ones who had assaulted her, although her husband, from whom she

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Speedup Main Cause of Wildcat Strikes at GM

By Emmett Moore

FLINT, Mich., Sept. 1 — A flurry of strike votes and wildcat strikes have hit General Motors plants. Among the plants affected are Fisher Body in Lansing, Fisher Body Two in Flint, Chevrolet Assembly in St. Louis and Fisher Body in Cleveland.

The cause of the trouble is the insufferable speedup which the corporation has imposed on its workers in a hundred plants around the country.

Only a day after officers of UAW Local 602 had announced a nine-to-one strike vote at Fisher in Lansing, picket lines were established to protest disciplinary action taken against two women employees in the cushion department. The strike awaits authorization from the UAW International Executive Board.

At the Fisher Two plant in Flint a wildcat led by workers in the trim shop broke out when the company refused to give the workers representation after the committeemen had exhausted their allotted bargaining time of two hours.

SPEEDUP SUCCEEDING

GM, which supplied cars to 44% of the national market last year, has been successful in increasing production throughout its plants ever since the defeat of the crankshaft workers in the Chevrolet Motor division of Flint a year ago. The biggest factor aiding the company speedup in all its plants is the intolerable contract which binds the hands of local union officers. As every auto worker knows, speedup must be fought as soon as it arises. The GM contract, with its long drawn out grievance and strike procedure, prevents the union from taking quick and decisive action.

There are no production standards on line speeds in the GM assembly plants; this includes the Fisher Body units which supply bodies. The newly-built Chevrolet assembly plant in Flint has taken no less than three strike votes in protest over the speedup, and the problem still remains.

Unlike strikes in Detroit, the wildcat strikes in GM have not been too successful as yet because of the onerous company security clause which the corporation invokes against local bargaining representatives. (See the notorious Paragraph 117, printed elsewhere on this page.)

HOW CLAUSE IS USED

In a wildcat strike at a Chevrolet assembly plant in California, it was reported a few months ago, this clause was used to fire the entire bargaining committee. After the workers had walked out, the management insisted that the committeemen, who had remained on their jobs as a protective measure, go out and read this clause to the picketing members. When the committee attempted to perform this miserable chore, out of necessity rather than choice, they were pressured into joining the picket line. They were immediately fired for violation of Paragraph 117.

For every wildcat that takes place, a score are throttled stillborn by the use of this clause, which takes a heavy toll of the best militants through penalties and firings.

Is it any wonder that the most dissatisfied UAW members are found in the GM division? Yet the International has not once submitted an over-all proposal to remedy this intolerable situation.

WANT ACTION NEXT TIME

During the last contract talks, the top negotiating committee was deluged with demands to completely alter the contract. But the new contract had only a few minor changes. Because contract changes come up for discussion at the same time as economic demands, the top UAW officers settle for essentially the same contract, sugar-coated with a few cents wage increase.

Militant unionists don't want to see this happen again in 1950. While the current pension demands are considered of paramount importance, the militants don't want the contract changes to be lost again in the shuffle of wage negotiations.

Among the most pressing changes desired are:

1. The scrapping of company security clauses.
2. A recognized chief steward system with unlimited bargaining time.
3. Union authority in establishing production standards.
4. Abolition of the infamous umpire system.
5. Stronger seniority and transfer clauses.

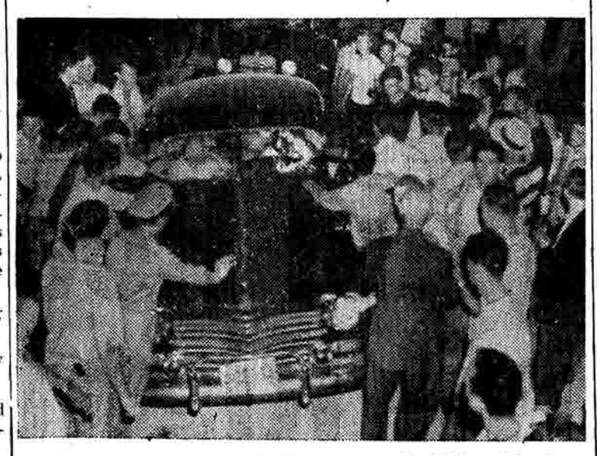
Paragraph 117 of The GM Contract

Paragraph 117 of the GM contract reads as follows:

"During the life of this agreement, the union will not cause or permit its members to cause, nor will any member of the union take part in, any sit-down, stay-in or slow-down, in any plant of the corporation, or any curtailment of work or restriction of production or interference with production of the corporation. The union will not cause or permit its members to cause, nor will any member of the union take part in, any strike or stoppage of any of the corporation's operations or picket the corporation's plants or premises until all the bargaining procedure as outlined in this agreement has been exhausted, and in no case on which the umpire shall have ruled, and in no other case on which the umpire is not empowered to rule until after negotiations have continued for at least five days at the third step of the grievance procedures and not even then. . ." etc., etc., etc.

Cops Aid Peekskill Hoodlums

Mob Breaks Up Concert



Burning fiery crosses, hurling stones and wielding clubs, hundreds of organized hoodlums broke up the concert scheduled to hear Paul Robeson near Peekskill on Aug. 27. Protection, asked for in advance, arrived three hours after the attack. The following week cops were present in large numbers, and so was a defense guard. The concert was held this time but after it was over, the hoodlums, with the connivance of the police, succeeded in injuring a greater number of people than the week before.

(Continued from Page 1)

tered cars and buses streamed into New York City where the injured, bleeding from scalp, face and hand wounds, were treated at hospitals or by private physicians. Fearful of stopping anywhere in Westchester County and adjoining areas, where hoodlums gangs raged far into the night over roads miles from the concert, many of the injured went without proper help for hours. One girl of 19, whose finger was severed by flying glass, was brought to a New York hospital.

The more than 1,100 fully-armed police and "special deputies" — almost equal in numbers to the parading mobsters outside the concert grounds — were sent to "protect" the concert after a similar mob had broken up a scheduled concert by Robeson on Aug. 27 near Peekskill. At that time, the police, warned of the prepared assault, were conspicuous by their absence. The hoodlums invaded the first concert, ripped up seats, set fires, burned a Ku-Klux cross and injured 13.

This time the police were on hand in overwhelming numbers and armed to the teeth — but under the direction of the same State Police Superintendent John A. Gaffney, Westchester District Attorney George M. Fanelli and Sheriff Fred W. Ruscoe who had failed to protect the previous concert and who had tried to blame the "riot" on the victims.

This time, too, Governor Dewey, the famous "gang-buster," has refused to comment on the mob violence in Westchester County until he gets "reports" from Gaffney, Fanelli and Ruscoe who were hand in glove with the murderous mobsters. What kind of "report" Dewey will get is already indicated by Fanelli's statement that the army of police did "a magnificent job" because by some miracle no one was killed.

Fanelli refused comment on the "magnificent job" the cops did in failing to prevent injury to more than two hundred persons who suffered broken arms, brain concussions, contusions, glass splinters in their eyes, sliced faces and hands, cut arteries, etc.

If no one was killed it was partly because the mobsters did not dare to make a direct assault on the concert. They did not want to tangle with the defense guard of 2,500, many of them CIO picket-line veterans. The police set up a protective wall between the defense guard and the hoodlums during the concert — to protect the hoodlums. The police claim they searched the defense guards prior to the concert and confiscated 300 baseball bats.

It was noticeable that the mobsters made no serious attempt to attack the concert while the defense guard was mobilized and ready for action. The cowardly attack came afterwards, while the defense guard was being held back by the police and the concert-goers were dispersed along the road.

To wash their hands of complicity in the mob assault, Fanelli and the leaders of the Legionnaires announced the end of the formal parade outside the concert grounds just before the concert was concluded. Thus, they could again claim the attacks were due solely to excitement-craving "teen-agers" and "unknown elements."

Of course, there were young hoodlums in the mob incited by the Legion elements, local officials and police. The N. Y. Times reports: "As one man remarked in a bar, 'Why should we get sweated up? The kids can do a better job and the cops don't run them in.' The police were lenient with the youths as far as arrests were concerned."

BLOODY ASSAULT

When the concert concluded, the police closed in. They held back the huge crowd of concert-goers and the defense guards, funneling all traffic into the one road where the mob was visibly waiting, lined up along side of police who laughed, smirked and joked as stones hurtled through the air, glass crashed and screaming women and children put their hands up to blood-dripping faces.

Cars hurtled and careened down the road. One bus loaded with women and children was hit by a huge boulder set loose by the hoodlums. The driver fortunately was able to keep it on the road. All along Hillside Ave., where the ambush awaited, the groups of hoodlums launched their lethal missiles from trees, embankments and roof-tops. Every few feet stood police. "Did you see that one I threw, Joe?" a hoodlum familiarly called to one "special deputy." The latter guffawed, "I wasn't looking that time." When one group ran out of ammunition, a cop handed a stone-thrower a miniature boulder — "Here, use this!"

Cars that were forced to stop had their occupants pulled out by the police themselves, who freely wielded their clubs. The injured were hauled to their feet, shoved back into the cars and ordered to "Move on!" Paul Robeson's car was halted by a state cop who snarled, "You damned n——r!" and smashed a big dent in the auto with his club.

When one man in the mob was struck by his own rock that had rebounded from a bus, a **Poughkeepsie Star** reporter rushed over to him and pointedly asked: "Someone in the bus opened a window and threw the rock at you, didn't he?" One time the police stepped in — to caution the rock-heavers that they were endangering each other because they were standing in a double file facing each other. They took the advice and spread out.

The most concentrated point of attack was near Strawberry Road just a few hundred feet from the concert grounds exit. Here, in full view of the troopers who were shunting the cars down a narrow defile, hundreds of cars were stoned. The mob, many in Legionnaire uniforms, howled, 'Get out of here, you Jew-K——s" and "N——r-loving Jews, down South we'd string you up. Go back to Moscow!"

Back in the grounds, thousands were unable to leave. Bus drivers fearfully refused to run their buses through the gauntlet when they got word of what was taking place on the highway. Women and kids milled around under the hard gaze and prodding clubs of the cops.

POLICE BRUTALITY

The defense guards remained to the last. Late in the evening a thousand men who had ceded their transportation to the women and children were corralled into a hollow on the grounds, surrounded in the dark by gun-pointing cops.

The police sought to incite them to resistance as a pretext for a massacre. They were made to put their hands behind their heads. A dozen or more were pulled from their ranks and given a "going over" by the police and troopers with clubs.

One group was forced to run a gauntlet of club-wielding cops. 25 were arrested and held for two hours, as District Attorney Fanelli explained, under "protective custody." Of this incident, the Sept. 5 N. Y. **Daily News** gleefully reported that **"25 Robesonites were marched through lines of swinging nightsticks to the nearby Anti-Riot HQ of the combined police forces."** Other concert-goers were clubbed by the cops either at the entrance to the grounds or on the road when their cars were stopped. The cops were especially vicious toward Negroes.

Just to give a little color to the fiction that they were maintaining "law and order," the police made a scattering of arrests among the mobsters, mainly for "reckless driving," "littering," "abusive language," etc. **Those arrested were released after paying small fines or bail.**

By some accident, among those arrested and charged with **"malicious mischief" were George** Leroy, 21, son of an American Legion official in Poughkeepsie, and Joseph Lillis, 25, son of the Peekskill Chief of Police. **The chance arrest of these two "mischievous teen-agers" gives a clue to what elements incited and engineered the Peekskill "riots."**

Defense Guards Needed, Says Michael Bartell

NEW YORK, Sept. 7—Michael Bartell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York City, today issued a statement to the press, calling on all anti-fascist organizations "to join in the formation of anti-fascist defense guards" to meet the threat made to the civil rights of all by the outrage in Peekskill. He also offered the SWP's co-operation "in the physical defense of any meeting that is threatened by fascist hoodlums."

Simultaneously, the four SWP candidates for municipal office sent a telegram to Gov. Dewey demanding a genuine investigating committee composed of representatives of labor, civil liberties and Negro organizations, for the purpose of punishing all those guilty of the Peekskill outrage. (See text on Page 1.) Yesterday, the New York Local of the SWP appealed to the state AFL and CIO to "organize a united labor conference immediately" to deal with the Peekskill attack.

The full text of Bartell's statement today follows:

THE OBJECTIVE

"The vicious attack against the Robeson concert in Peekskill is the most naked manifestation of reactionary terror in the current wave of government-inspired lynch hysteria. First, hysterical, inflammatory, anti-communist propaganda; next, 'legal' suppression, intimidation and persecution of radicals, minorities and foreign-born by the government; then extra-legal violence by storm troopers — protected, aided and abetted by the government forces of 'law and order.'

"The ultimate objective of this campaign is the annihilation of all labor unions, radical and liberal parties, the persecution of all minorities, the total suppression of all criticism and thought, that is, the totalitarian fascist police-state.

"The Peekskill riots should serve as a danger signal and a lesson to the entire labor movement. The danger signal is a warning of the growth of fascist-minded forces in this country which, if not stopped, will be turned loose on the unions in the end. The lesson is: no protection against fascist terror can be expected from the capitalist government or its police. The same forces that set the bigoted mobs into motion control the state and the parties that run it.

"Labor must mobilize its own defense forces to beat back the drive of reaction — both legal and extra-legal. The crimes and betrayals of Stalinism against the labor movement and the Negro people must not blind us to the real threat to the democratic rights of all.

"Even though Paul Robeson saw fit to sabotage the defense of civil rights for Trotskyists and slandered us at the Bill of Rights Conference, we will continue to defend Robeson's right to sing, speak and write as he chooses.

UNITED ACTION

"The Socialist Workers Party calls for the mobilization of all labor and liberal forces, all victims of reaction into a broad, united front movement in defense of civil rights.

"We call upon all anti-fascist organizations to join in the formation of anti-fascist defense guards to protect meetings of workers, unions and minorities. The SWP is prepared to co-operate at any time in the physical defense of any meeting that is threatened by fascist hoodlums. The need of the hour is united, militant action in defense of civil liberties."

MICHAEL BARTELL

GOODRICH STRIKERS DIG IN FOR HARD STRUGGLE

(Continued from page 1)

been lost because the company would not provide maximum safety protection? Why will not the management agree to maximum protection for the workers, while demanding maximum production?

"It can only be because they do not look upon workers as human beings, but only as machines. You and I and our next door neighbor — we are expendable. Our lives mean nothing. Only profits are sacred."

In his analysis of the contract proposed by the company, Childers made it clear that the company deliberately provoked a strike by refusing to agree to a contract under which the union could live.

But the union negotiators would not agree to throw working conditions back to what they were in the 1930's before the CIO. They struck primarily because they could not get a decent union agreement.

The wage and pension demands had hardly been discussed prior to the strike.

The union adamantly refuses to settle the strike except on the basis of a union contract which will preserve the basic protection for the workers which the union has won over a period of years of struggle.

Meanwhile the strike remains 100% effective.

Only a handful of key workers are allowed in the plant; a system of passes continues. Anyone without a pass issued at the union hall cannot get in the plant.

The strike has not yet hit the workers too hard. The last pay will be given out this week.

HARDSHIP CASES

But already there were hardship cases since some workers had been drawing very short pays, and could not make ends meet. The city relief office set up a system of issuing relief on the basis of a screening of cases by a union committee at the union hall. Strikers are given relief.

But relief funds in the city were running low. The city officials appealed to the state for an advance of relief funds, and were turned down. A crisis in relief will develop within two weeks, should the strike continue.

The strike is not dramatic; it is a stubborn, quietly determined spirit that prevails The knowledge that the union is fighting a life and death siege has penetrated the rank and file. They have confidence in the leadership, and press attacks have been ineffective.

When the Akron Beacon Journal charged the strike was called to serve the political ambitions of George R. Bass, considered to be the outstanding candidate for the International Presidency of the URWA at the Toronto convention Sept. 19, the pickets commented, "The Beacon was always against us, and it was always against George. The company runs that paper."

Strike in Youngstown Steel Plant Shows Workers' Readiness to Fight

By Ed Conti

YOUNGSTOWN, Sept. 5 — The broad gauge railroaders in the Ohio Works Plant of Carnegie-Illinois quit their jobs last Wednesday to protest the corporation's refusal to schedule full force railroad crews as established in the past for a given number of operating blast furnaces. This was another of U. S. Steel's attempts to extend the speedup throughout its plants.

The strike, 100% effective in the railroad department, forced the shutdown of a large section of the plant. The management tried to operate a few blast furnaces, but the entire membership of United Steelworkers Local 1330 came to the support of the railroaders by refusing to work with scab hot metal. Upon this demonstration of solidarity, all the blast furnaces were banked.

At a large and enthusiastic strike meeting Saturday, a thorough discussion of strike strategy took place. The railroaders decided to go back to work as of midnight Monday only after management agreed to the department strike committee's terms, dealing with procedure for scheduling first crews out and special handling by top management of the disputed case.

U. S. Steel has hitherto always stubbornly refused to discuss terms with any striking department, but they had to set special terms to get the railroaders back. The men went back with the highest morale, determined to go out again if they do not win their demands. Furthermore, as a demonstration to both the company and the international Steel Workers union officers, they went back to work at the time they set themselves, and not at the time ordered by Steelworkers District Director Griffin.

The morale of both this department and the whole local has risen to a new high in the recent period. The union is showing its readiness to fight not only against the speedup but in a national steel strike if that becomes necessary because of the steel baron's arrogance in the current national wage and pension negotiations.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Register Increase in August Subscriptions To "The Militant"

Subscriptions to **The Militant** during August continued the favorable upward trend that began in June. With a total of 213 subscriptions, August topped July's total of 178 by 35. The June total was 166.

As is shown by the score printed below for the various branches of the Socialist Workers Party, credit for a big part of the August subscription goes to the hard-plugging Detroit branch.

Comrade **Richard Gregor** of the **Buffalo** branch dropped in to tell us that the 24 subscriptions sent in by the Buffalo comrades represent the first fruit of their campaign. Although the going is "rough" because of the venomous lies and slanders against Trotskyism which have filled the capitalist press of Buffalo during the past months, "we hope to do even better during September."

The energetic **Seattle** branch deserves a big hand for its showing in August. They nosed out a number of branches many times their size to take third place. This is on top of their excellent work which put them among the leading contenders in July. "You see we are really forging ahead with our campaign," writes Literature Agent **Marianne Stanley**. "Hope to send more soon. We are now only 5 subs short of our goal of 30."

She reports that colored people "generally are more open and responsive to our press. One subscriber seemed favorably impressed with the paper in general; another liked the article opposing Clark's nomination to the Supreme Court." **Marianne says** that "unemployment has begun to hit" and this increases the difficulties in sub-getting. The Seattle comrades, however, are showing that energy and persistence go far in overcoming such obstacles.

Once a worker begins to understand the feasibility of the socialist program for ending unemployment, he realizes that The Militant is not a luxury; it's a necessity in the struggle to build a world of plenty. It takes time and patience to explain this, but it means new subscribers with a better appreciation of the great emancipating aims of America's leading socialist weekly.

New York Local, at the top of the list for the past two months, in August managed only to tie with **Los Angeles** for fourth place. "This slump," Literature Agent **Harry Gold** said, "was due to our concentration on getting signatures for petitions to put four Trotskyist candidates on the ballot in New York City. As interest in politics rises during the fall elections, we hope to more than make up for this temporary decline in subscriptions to **The Militant** in the New York area."

BRANCH	SUBS
Detroit	67
Buffalo	24
Seattle	18
Los Angeles	16
New York	16
St. Paul	8
San Francisco	8
Chicago	7
Oakland	7
Minneapolis	6
Philadelphia	4
Boston	3
Pittsburgh	3
Flint	2
Newark	2
Toledo	2
Youngstown	2
Akron	1
Cleveland	1
St. Louis	1
Allentown	0
Lynn	0
Morgantown	0
New Britain	0
New Haven	0
Reading	0
Rochester	0
Worcester	0
General	15
TOTAL	213

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TROTSKY

"Reactionary epochs like ours not only disintegrate and weaken the working class and its vanguard but also lower the general ideological level of the movement and throw political thinking back to stages long since passed through. In these conditions the task of the vanguard is above all not to let itself be carried along by the backward flow: it must swim against the current. If an unfavorable relation of forces prevents it from holding the positions that it has won, it must at least retain its ideological positions, because in them is expressed the dearly paid experience of the past."

—Leon Trotsky, Stalinism and Bolshevism, 1937.

LENIN

The Second Peekskill Assault

The second organized fascist-like mob attack on persons attending a Paul Robeson concert near Peekskill has confirmed what we wrote last week about the first bloody assault on Aug. 27. Reliance on capitalist officials and so-called law-enforcement agencies to safeguard civil rights from the storm-troopers, we said, would be the gravest mistake.

The fact that more than 1,000 fully-armed state and local police, prepared in advance for mob violence, failed to prevent the injury of some 200 persons and permitted a relatively small number of terrorists to roam and wreck at will, is sufficient proof of official complicity in the assault. There is, moreover, ample evidence of hundreds of impartial eyewitnesses, scores of newspaper photographs and newspaper accounts to prove indisputably that the police themselves actively aided the mobsters and were a party to the whole dastardly assault.

We said last week, and we repeat with all the added emphasis at our command, that the chief guilt for this outrage and similar ones it may encourage in the future belongs to the Truman administration. Through Truman's "subversive" blacklist of organizations and political groups proscribed by the party in power, the atmosphere has been created for mob assaults on civil liberties. If Truman can brand individuals and groups as "disloyal" without trial or chance for defense, why shouldn't the fascist hoodlums feel free to act with equal disregard for the Bill of Rights?

The fascists correctly feel that they have the moral sanction of the federal government as well as the tacit approval, if not the outright collaboration, of state and local authorities and police. The government which arbitrarily and illegally puts certain political groups outside the law and invites attack upon them, is not to be feared by the fascists. That is why the Westchester mob acted so openly and brazenly.

It is no incidental fact that the assault in Westchester County, which was organized under the slogan of "anti-communism" and in which a small group of Jewish War Veterans stupidly participated, ended in naked anti-Semitism, as well as Negro-baiting. Nor is it accidental that the leaders of the Ku Klux Klan have hailed the attacks on the Robeson concerts as "only the beginning" in the North as in the South.

Peekskill is a flaming signal of rising American fascism. As in Germany, it has revealed itself first in attacks on political and racial minorities. If the fascists are not halted now, they will become bolder and more aggressive. The union halls will be their next target.

The capitalist government cannot be depended on to prevent more Peekskills. Only the determined joint mass action of labor and liberal groups, prepared to take the quickest and most energetic measures of self-defense, will be able to safeguard free speech and the right of assembly from the storm-troopers.

Truman's Quack Cure

The Truman administration has worked out a slick trick that's supposed to reduce unemployment. It's very simple. The government hands out small contracts to industries in "distressed areas" — that is, areas where unemployment runs greater than 12% of the labor force.

Thus, two textile firms in Knoxville, Tenn., wangled a $2,000,000 government order for mailbags. Knoxville unemployment runs to between 15% and 20% of its labor force. In Bridgeport, Conn., with a similar percentage of unemployment, a chair coaster firm got a government order amounting to between $3,000 and $4,000.

There's one little hitch in the trick, however. The contracts the government is siphoning into towns like Knoxville and Bridgeport, reports the **Times**, are being "diverted from areas which are not distressed," — that is, where unemployment has not yet reached the stage of one worker walking the streets for every five or six workers still getting some kind of wages.

In short, for every worker who gets a job making government mailbags in Knoxville or chair coasters in Bridgeport some other worker elsewhere who would normally have been employed in filling these government orders will lose a job. What Truman's program does is reduce unemployment in one area by creating unemployment in another.

The theory behind this program, as Truman stated it, is that the "pools of heavy unemployment need to be treated before they spread" — as though unemployment is like some superficial skin disease that can be cured by a local application of salve. A small town with 5,000 unemployed may be "contagious," but New York City with a half-million unemployed is not. Divert a small contract from New York City to some small town — and "Voila!" as the French say — a "distressed area" has been cured.

Truman's program is nonsense. Unemployment is an organic disease of capitalism. It is no more to be cured by "local applications" than small-pox is to be cured by applying soothing ointments to the skin-eruptions which are one of its symptoms.

Dewey's Double-Standard

Governor Dewey on Sept. 7 received two police reports. One was Westchester County District Attorney Fanelli's whitewash of the mob attack, in the presence of 1,100 police, that injured some 200 persons leaving the Sept. 4 Robeson concert near Peekskill and damaged hundreds of autos and 25 buses. The other concerned the alleged injury that morning to five strikebreakers who tried to crash a CIO picket line at the Bell Aircraft plant near Buffalo.

Dewey had "no comment" when he made public the Peekskill report which praised the "magnificent job" done by the army and cops, including 250 of Dewey's state troopers, who allowed the mobsters to run wild in an orgy of bloody violence. He had "no comment" on Fanelli's claim that the violence was committed by "teen-agers" who had "no connection" with the American Legion and other reactionary groups which organized and incited the Peekskill atrocities.

Entirely different was his attitude on the Buffalo incident. He fumed about "a serious outbreak of lawlessness this morning in Niagara County. An organized group became a mob, obstructed the free use of a highway and of passage for those trying to use it lawfully."

Dewey, the capitalist politician, is silent when a mob shrieking anti-Semitic and anti-Negro epithets deals a violent blow at freedom of speech and assembly, sends scores of persons to hospitals and causes thousands of dollars in property damage. But when a few scabs meet resistance as they try to bust through a picket line of workers defending their jobs and their living standards, then Dewey starts howling for "law and order."

What was the Peekskill mob aiming at? They were trying to destroy the constitutional rights of American citizens. They were trying to spread lynch spirit against Jews and Negroes. They were an advance guard of fascism.

What are the Bell workers fighting for? They are fighting for a decent living for their families. They are trying to preserve their union against an employer who has arrogantly refused even to negotiate on their wage demands and is trying to organize a "back-to-work" movement to smash their strike.

It's nothing to raise Dewey's blood-pressure when anti-labor fascist elements run riot. His arteries start to pound only when workers defend themselves against strikebreakers.

Why Stalinists Oppose A Balkan Federation

By William F. Warde

Last week representatives of the countries in the Cominform met at the Kremlin's command in Sofia, Bulgaria. They did not come to consult on ways and means of removing the shackles on their own economic advancement. Instead they plotted how to tighten the squeeze on Yugoslavia, and help choke the independence of a neighboring nation.

This manipulation of one bloc of small countries against another in its cold war against Titoism highlights the reactionary role of the Moscow bureaucracy throughout Eastern Europe. As Ernest Germain explains in his noteworthy article "Where Is Eastern Europe Going?" in the September **Fourth International**, just published, economic growth in all Eastern and Central Europe is held back primarily by the survivals of private property and the maintenance of the national boundaries of the small separate states. None of these weak, backward, predominantly agricultural countries possess within their own borders the forces and resources required to industrialize themselves, expand their economies rapidly and harmoniously, and direct them in a planned manner.

Genuine socialist planning and production is impossible except in an international framework. That is why Tito's claim about "the victorious construction of socialism in Yugoslavia," which he borrowed from Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country," is so absurd. Far less than the Soviet Union itself can Yugoslavia acquire the means of building socialism through its exclusive efforts and within its narrow national confines.

None of the East European countries can progress economically or move toward socialism without completing the nationalization of the means of production and exchange, especially in land; without abolishing the national frontiers; and without unifying into a Balkan Federation of Workers and Peasants Republics. This need for economic and political unity in Europe is so vital that even the representatives of capitalism are playing with the idea of a United States of Europe, as Winston Churchill's Council of Europe now meeting at Strasbourg illustrates.

But neither the imperialists nor the Stalinists can bring unity to the Europe they have torn apart in their deals. When Premier Dimitrov of Bulgaria and Tito took the initiative two years ago of projecting a Balkan Federation, Moscow stepped in and vetoed the idea. Now it is mobilizing its satellites to blockade, isolate and strangle Yugoslavia.

Tyrants of all ages have tried to maintain their power by following the maxim: "divide and rule." The Kremlin deliberately aims to keep its satellites separated, weak, and docile so that they can offer no effective challenge to its despotism. Like all totalitarian regimes, Stalinism hastens to stifle the least freedom from its authority which can become the focus of discontent or the source of opposition. That is why Moscow has deprived the various nationalities inside the Soviet Union of their autonomy and pitilessly crushed any signs of independence.

Tito's resistance and its repercussions in the Communist Parties elsewhere prove that Stalin's fears on this score have been well-founded. If Yugoslavia continues its defiance, who knows who else will be encouraged to imitate its example?

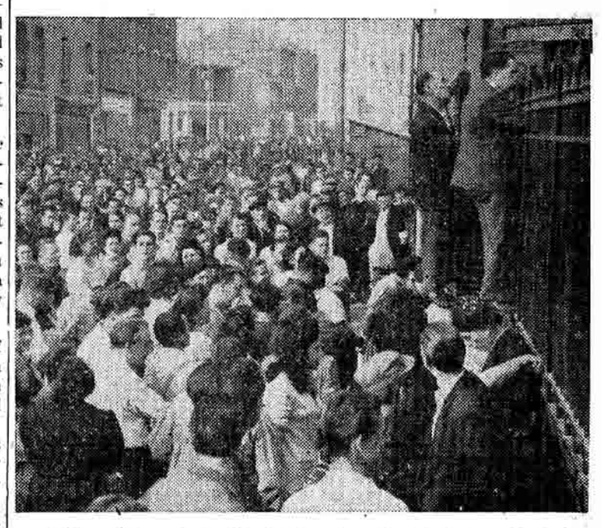
The Kremlin has economic as well as political reasons for its divisive policies. It wants to continue plundering countries under its control through unequal trade agreements, joint enterprises, reparations and other privileges through which it extorts rich revenues. The Secretary of the Yugoslav Politburo Djilas correctly condemned Moscow this week for "exploiting the weak" by squeezing high profits from "mixed companies."

Moscow applies its "divide and rule" methods wherever its influence extends. Stalin participated in the partition of Poland, first with Hitler and then with the Allies; he agreed to the four-power carving of Germany and the division of Korea. Now, when the Stalinist forces are taking over China, the Kremlin proceeds to detach its richest industrial area by setting up a separate "People's Government of the Northeast" in Manchuria. This government will have its own currency and trade agreements with the USSR. Instead of aiding the consolidation of all China, Stalin erects new walls and retains his special commercial and naval privileges at Port Arthur and Dairen.

Thus, wherever it operates, the Kremlin bureaucracy sows division and hinders economic progress. It approaches the problems of the peoples, not in a socialist spirit of free, equal and comradely collaboration, but from the selfish standpoint of a marauding gang — what and how much do we get out of it?

The Communist workers of Yugoslavia have learned this from their recent experience. Now, in order to conduct a successful struggle against Stalinism as well as imperialism, they ought to cast aside the reactionary nationalism both foster and raise the slogan of a Balkan-Danubian Federation of Socialist Republics as a step toward the creation of a Socialist United States of Europe.

French Workers Protest Shutdown



Released from their jobs in French nationalized aircraft plants in Paris, hundreds of workers are shown at a plant gate, staging a protest demonstration for the restoration of their jobs.

2 FLA. NEGROES FACE CHAIR, 3RD GETS LIFE

(Continued from Page 1)

claimed to have been abducted, said at first that Greenlee definitely was not one of them. The police then went to work on the three, beating and torturing them until they were ready to "confess" to anything.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People quickly entered the fight, exposing the fraudulent nature of the "confessions," the lynch hysteria that pervaded the community and the lynch incitations spread by the local press. Defense lawyers were also provided by the NAACP for the trial, which began in Tavares in the Lake County Circuit Court before Judge J. G. Futch last week.

Futch denied the NAACP's motion for a change of venue, stating that he had "subscribed to the Lake County newspapers for years" and could find in them nothing of an inflammatory nature that would tend to interfere with the conduct of an impartial trial. (One paper, the **Orlando Sentinel, had printed a** front page cartoon of the electric chair, entitled "No Compromise" and plainly demanding the death penalty for the three defendants.)

Judge Futch also refused to grant a motion for continuance, to allow the NAACP attorneys further time to prepare the defense. During the hearings he refused reasonable adjournment to allow the lawyers to prepare their case during the evenings. (The lynch law defenders were in a hurry to get through with the farce; State Attorney Jess Hunter openly announced his goal was a "verdict within 24 hours," and the judge did everything he could to comply.)

In addition to denying all motions filed by the defense attorneys, Futch prevented the defendants from testifying about the beatings to which they were subjected at the time of their arrest, and refused to allow Dr. Nelson W. V. Spaulding, Jacksonville physician who examined the prisoners at the request of the NAACP, to testify as to their physical condition.

The prosecuting attorney called as witnesses during the hearings on the motions several "substantial" citizens of the area, including the president of the Leesburg National Bank, to testify that no widespread violence had taken place in Groveland and vicinity and that there was no reason why a fair and impartial trial could not be held in Lake County.

After this, the trial went as "arranged," despite the fight put up by the defendants and their attorneys. The only hitch in the proceedings came when young Greenlee told his story, which was so obviously truthful and convincing that there wasn't a person in the courtroom who could doubt his complete innocence.

For a time, it was reported, the jury was inclined to acquit him by a vote of 7 to 5. But he too had been "identified" by Mrs. Padgett, and to free him would discredit her entire story. So there was a "compromise," and as a gesture of Jim Crow "mercy," he was given a life sentence.

The verdicts will be appealed to a higher court, up to the Supreme Court if necessary. But it will be necessary to mobilize a powerful movement of mass protest in all parts of the country if the Groveland Three are to be saved from the chair or a living death in prison.

U. S. Navy Pays Official Visit To Fascist Spain

Washington's latest friendly gesture toward fascist Spain occurred on Sept. 3 when four U. S. warships made the first official visit by the American Navy to Dictator Francisco Franco's country.

Two cruisers and two destroyers under the command of Admiral Richard L. Conolly steamed into El Ferroll Del Caudillo, Spain's largest naval base. A Navy spokesman said the visit was "informal but official."

The same spokesman said that the U. S. Admiral and other fleet officers had come to "pay their respects" to the butcher of the Spanish people at Franco's summer home nearby. On Sept. 5, Conolly and his staff conferred an hour with Franco.

An American naval spokesman revealed that the conference dealt with the renewal of relations by the U. S. Navy with the Spanish Navy with the intention of adding Spanish ports to the U. S. Navy's calling list.

'Daily Compass' Finally Discusses Tito Conflict

By George Breitman

Ever since its initial issue four months ago, the N. Y. Daily Compass has been trying to palm itself off as an independent paper by publishing the writings of a few well-known non-Stalinist journalists. But at the same time the Compass can truthfully boast that its editorial columns and editorial policy have never conflicted with those of the Daily Worker on a single important issue.

The subservience of the Compass to Stalinism was bared for the whole world to see two months ago when the Compass printed Howard Fast's long and scurrilous attack on the Socialist Workers Party, The Militant, James Kutcher and Farrell Dobbs — and then refused to print Kutcher's or Dobbs' answers to the Stalinist lies.

PUT ON THE SPOT

More recently, the Compass has been put on the spot by the intensification of Stalin's war of nerves and economic pressure against the Yugoslav government. This is an issue on which virtually every other paper in the country has made some comment or taken a stand. It is also an issue on which the Stalinists have made it clear that they will brook no compromise; anyone who dares question their policy on this matter gets labeled as a mad fascist dog, at least.

Thus far, that "bold" and "crusading" editor, Ted O. Thackrey, has treated this question the way a rabbit treats a fox. While printing routine press dispatches in the Compass news columns, he has not said a mumbling word in his editorials. When that no longer sufficed, Thackrey turned the problem over to the Compass page called "Issue of the Day," a feature in which advocates of different sides of disputed questions are permitted equal space.

The Sept. 2 question for this page was: "Is the Cominform justified in its criticism of Yugoslavia?" The "Yes" answer was provided by Joseph Starobin, foreign editor of the **Daily Worker**; the "No" answer by Vladimir Dedijer, chief of the Yugoslav Office of Information in Belgrade. But we leave their statements entirely aside in order to call attention to the introductory remarks by the "moderator" of this feature, one Clip Boutell, who generally states or implies the editorial position of the Compass. It is worth calling attention to, because it is a four-star Stalinist hack job if there ever was one.

"OBJECTIVITY?"

The kernel of the argument, he writes with a pretense of objectivity, is "what kind and degree of independence is a small Communist state entitled to, just what should be the balance between 'autonomy' and the overall demands of world socialism?"

And here is how he sums up the two sides of the dispute: "The area of disagreement between the Cominform and the Yugoslav Government on this issue has widened to a point where the Moscow radio has denounced the Tito regime as 'acting as an enemy,' as a 'malicious deserter.' Marshal Tito, in the meantime, has vigorously denied that Yugoslavia is no longer 'a people's democracy,' but he has openly begun to flirt with the West. Among other things, he has officially applied for a loan of 25 million dollars from the U. S. Export-Import Bank."

But why is Tito resuming economic relations with the West? Because Stalin cut Yugoslavia off from all East European trade (in exactly the same way Washington cut the Soviet Union off from trade with the West). If a policy aimed at economic survival for Yugoslavia represents "flirting with the West," then what term should be used to describe the policy of the Kremlin which forced the Tito regime to make this decision?

WHAT MAKES A "FLIRT"?

Boutell "objectively" ignores this question, just as he ignores the fact that the Soviet Union has applied to U. S. imperialism for a loan of — not 25 million but ten billion dollars. Apparently Stalin is 400 times as much of a "flirt" as Tito.

Boutell continues: "The promoters of the Atlantic Treaty and World War III see Tito's reorientation as a fateful break in the Communist bloc of nations. But those who believe that war with Russia is neither necessary nor inevitable can see how the Balkans could again supply the spark of conflict. Tito's demands for 'autonomy,' well-justified as they seem to be, have not contributed to the prospects of peace. A break in the Socialist front could not be worse timed."

Stalin demands that Yugoslavia surrender its independence; Tito, under the pressure of the masses, declines to submit; Stalin declares economic, political and diplomatic war; Tito continues to resist; Stalin demands Tito's head. At this point Boutell enters the stage, clears his throat and declaims: "Well-justified as your demands may seem to be, you are guilty of poor timing — very poor timing." To which Tito could reply:

"In the first place, don't tell it to me — tell it to Stalin. In the second place, if we were going to wait before resisting Stalin's demand for control of Yugoslavia, that would have meant turning the country over to the GPU. And by the time you in your infinite wisdom saw fit to inform us that the proper time had come to fight for our independence, there might be no one left in our country free enough or alive enough to carry on the fight."

COWARDLY APOLOGISTS

Boutell and Thackrey know this just as well as Tito. They know also, as almost any 12-year old schoolboy does, that Yugoslavia is hardly in a position to attack the Soviet Union and that the threat of a war in the Balkans today comes not from Yugoslavia's efforts to survive as an independent nation but from the Kremlin's attempts to subject Yugoslavia to its control.

Boutell can put a hundred quotation marks around the word autonomy. He can hint until he is hoarse that everyone who supports Yugoslavia in this struggle is in favor of an imperialist war against the Soviet Union. But he cannot alter or conceal the fact that the **Compass** — in the most cowardly fashion, by innuendo and distortion and what it leaves unsaid — has lined up alongside of the Stalinists in this conflict just as it has done in every other case where there was a progressive struggle against Stalinism.

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THE MILITANT

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The Water Tank

By Jack Rowley

"There was a certain very dry land, and the people thereof were in sore need of water. And they did nothing but to seek after water from morning until night, and many perished because they could not find it. . ."

Thus opens the Parable of the Water Tank. The tale goes on to relate how certain men gathered stores of water where others could not find any. These men were called capitalists.

The people came to the capitalists and offered themselves and their children as servants, for the sake of a little water. So the capitalists hired them to carry water to a huge water tank which they called the Market. For every bucket of water a man carried to the tank he received a penny. But for every bucket he took from the tank for his own use, he had to pay the capitalist two pennies. And the extra penny was called profit.

Everything was rosy while the tank was being filled. But for every bucket a man carried to the tank he received only enough to buy back a half-bucket. And soon the tank was filled to the top and overflowed. Then the capitalists told the people that they should carry no more water till the tank was empty. But the people received no pennies for carrying water, hence they could buy no water back. This condition was called a crisis.

Now, the people were troubled. The waterholes, wells and springs were all controlled by the capitalists and the only place they could obtain water was from the tank. The people became unruly, and the capitalists were nervous, lest the people take the tank from them.

So they sent soothsayers and priests to calm the people. But the people took up stones against these. Then the capitalists wet their fingertips and flicked water on the lips of the people. This they called charity — and it was bitter. Then the capitalists approached the strongest of the people and those skilled in warfare and, with the bribe of water, enticed these into their service against the people. These took swords and drove the people back from the tank.

After the capitalists had wasted much water on their own pleasures, the tank was empty. The crisis was over. The people went back to carrying water to the tank. For each bucket a man carried he received a penny. For each bucket he withdrew from the tank he had to pay two pennies. And so it went, and crisis followed crisis.

Then certain men rose up from among the people and told the people to organize so that they would not have to be servants to the capitalists and would not have to suffer and die of thirst when there was too much water. And the capitalists called these men agitators and would have liked to crucify them, but they feared the temper of the people.

But for a long time the people did not listen to the agitators. But after a time, the people asked the agitators to show them the way out. And the agitators said:

"Behold, what need have ye at all of these capitalists, that ye should yield them profits upon your labor? What great thing do they wherefore ye render them this tribute? Lo! it is only because they do order you in bands and lead you out and in and set your tasks and afterwards give you a little of the water yourselves have brought and not they.

"Now, behold the way out of this bondage! Do ye for yourselves that which is done by the capitalists — namely, the ordering of your labor, and the marshalling of your bands, and the dividing of your tasks. So shall ye have no need at all of the capitalists and no more yield to them any profit, but all the fruit of your labor shall ye share as brethren, everyone having the same; and so shall the tank never overflow until every man is full, and would not wag the tongue for more, and afterward shall ye with the overflow make pleasant fountains and fishponds to delight yourselves withal even as did the capitalists; but these shall be for the delight of all. . ."

I would heartily recommend that you read the entire "Parable of the Water Tank." It is contained in the book, "Equality," by Edward Bellamy.

(Reprinted from UE Local 107 News)

Socialized Medicine X

The Truman Health Plan

By Grace Carlson

"Keep politics out of this picture" is the slogan that greets patients entering doctors' offices these days. Part of the American Medical Association's campaign against a national health insurance bill, the slogan about "politics in medicine" accompanies the famous Sir Luke Fildes painting, **The Doctor.**

But this outdated painting of an old-fashioned general practitioner watching over a sick child stretched out on two chairs in a poor cottage proves just the opposite! Politics should enter such a picture. Certainly, the real-life counterpart of the harassed father in the background of the Fildes picture hopes that some kind of compulsory health insurance bill can be passed in order to provide much-needed hospitalization and scientific nursing care for the sick children of the poor.

Not a rounded program of medical care — certainly not a true socialized medicine program — the Truman health plan does propose a step in the right direction. A variation of the eight other compulsory health insurance plans that have been introduced into Congress in the past decade, the Truman health plan proposes to broaden the Social Security Act. Not as broad in its coverage as Britain's National Health Service, the Truman Health Plan (Senate File 5 — Wagner-Murray-Pepper-Chavez-Taylor-McGrath) proposes a system of compulsory health insurance for the majority of the population.

Those eligible for care would include all employed or self-employed persons, plus their dependents. Relief clients and recipients of old-age benefits would be eligible if the premiums were paid by social welfare agencies. Provision would be made to have 3% of earnings paid into a national insurance fund. Additional funds to operate the health program would be appropriated from general taxes.

An employee earning $1,250 per year would pay $18.75; an employee earning $3,600 per year would pay $54. These sums would be matched by equal contributions from employers to pay for complete medical care for the worker and his dependents. Self-employed persons would pay the full 3% in order to participate in the plan.

Health services provided under the bill would include services of physicians, including specialists, when required; hospital care (except for tuberculosis and mental illness) up to 60 days per year; laboratory and X-Ray services; eye glasses and other special appliances; dental care and home nursing service to a limited degree.

Under this proposed bill, the patient would be permitted free choice of physician and hospital. General practitioners would be paid by a method agreed upon by a majority of physicians in the area. Hospitals would be paid full cost of service. The doctors would have absolute authority to make medical decisions, but in the general administration of the plan, the public would also be represented on local boards.

And this is what bothers the authoritarian American Medical Association!

Contrast in Germany

By Charles Hanley

There are two legal neo-fascist parties in Western Germany and one in the Russian zone, with the occupation powers playing "their" Nazis against each other and the German masses. The **N. Y. Times** has reported that after the end of censorship eighty Nazi newspapers edited by former Nazi journalists will resume publication in the American zone. Those Nazi journalists are precious to imperialism, being experienced specialists in anti-communist propaganda.

While the fascists are flourishing in Germany again, the "Free Communist Party" ("Titoist") in Berlin has been refused legal authorization by the occupation authorities, and Karl-Heinz Scholz, its leader, has been arrested in the French sector of Berlin for holding an unauthorized meeting.

The imperialists, who have no difficulty in getting along with Nazis, seem to be very much disturbed at the prospect of having to deal with a potential mass movement of communists independent of the Kremlin bureaucracy which has organized so many defeats for the working class during the last quarter of a century.

Their fears are justified. Like Stalin, the imperialists fear nothing in the world more than the possibility of being confronted with a revolutionary movement led by forces who owe their allegiance to neither side in the cold war. By their suppression of independent communists, as in their legalization and encouragement of neo-fascists, the imperialists are only defending their own class interests.

But the workers have their own class interests to defend. They cannot tolerate a policy which directly serves the preparation of World War III. It is their duty to support and help every independent labor militant — in no matter what country — who refuses to be a lackey of either the Kremlin or Wall Street.

Toward this end, the labor movement of the whole world should call for the immediate legalization of the "Free Communist Party" and of every other working class group in that country which is today compelled to exist underground because of the oppressive policies of the occupation powers. And, since that will not be sufficient to restore genuine political freedom in Germany, the labor movement must begin also to demand the immediate end of the occupation which is fostering the rebirth of Nazism along with countless other anti-labor crimes.

Notes from the News

CONNOLLY BEATEN — Councilman Eugene Connolly lost the American Labor Party nomination for Borough President of Manhattan to Ewart Guinier, the Stalinist choice, in New York's Sept. 6 primary. Guinier won by a vote of 5 to 1, but the outstanding feature was the low vote, the total coming to less than 14,000 for all of Manhattan.

* * *

BI-PARTISAN CELEBRATION — Sponsors of next month's celebration of Dr. John Dewey's 90th birthday include Republican Senators Taft, Morse and Ives and Democratic Senators Douglas, Thomas and Graham. Also listed are Eleanor Roosevelt and Harold E. Stassen.

* * *

JIM CROW IN LAW GROUP — The house of delegates of the American Bar Association, meeting in St. Louis last week, voted down a proposed amendment to membership rules that would have made it easier for Negroes to become members of the ABA.

* * *

AMVETS CONVENTION — Harold Russell, chairman of the original sponsors for the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, was elected national commander of the AMVETS at its convention on Labor Day. The veterans' organization also voted down proposals for merger with the AVC, and for the first time came out in favor of a bonus for veterans.

* * *

THE POT AND THE KETTLE — When Secretary Johnson, in a bid for publicity to show he favors economy, suggested that Senators might save the taxpayers money if they used commercial rather than military planes for a jaunt to Japan, Sen. Elbert D. Thomas fired back with a demand for complete data on all trips in military planes made by high government officials, including Truman and Barkley, since Jan. 1. Johnson quickly backed down, and Thomas then withdrew his demand.

* * *

CHRYSLER STRIKE VOTE — The UAW has called for a state-supervised strike vote for 83,000 Chrysler workers in Michigan plants. The union told the State Mediation Board it had not been able to make any headway on wage demands in current negotiations with Chrysler.

Vital Decisions To Be Made In Seaman, Electrical Unions

Neither UE Faction Defends Real Interests of Members

The coming convention of the CIO United Electrical Workers in Cleveland will undoubtedly be the most dramatic and crucial of its history. The faction fight between the Stalinist machine and the Carey-Murray-ACTU faction has now reached the slugging stage. **Furthermore, the UE convention** will take place only six weeks before the national CIO convention which will witness a showdown battle between the Murray and Stalinist machines.

The 14-year history of the UE furnishes the best possible example of the sell-out character of the Stalinists and how their leadership brings harm to the workers under their control. The Stalinists had an ideal opportunity in this union to show the superiority of their brand of self-styled left wing leadership in developing militancy among the members, demonstrating how to run a union democratically, winning superior wages and working conditions and giving the lead to the whole labor movement on progressive issues. On all these counts, the Stalinist leadership of the UE flunked out badly, although they took over the leadership from the start and until a few years ago ran the union without opposition or interference.

SPINELESS POLICY

Far from giving lessons in militancy to the other unions, the UE was the least aggressive of the "Big Three" in the CIO. In contrast to the auto, rubber or even steel union, most UE locals were built, not in the fire of battle, but as "NLRB babies." Matles, Emspak and their lieutenants played a deliberately cagey game of not taking the lead anywhere but followed in the wake of the auto, rubber and other more militant unions and garnered benefits based upon the sit-down battles in Michigan Akron and elsewhere.

The UE didn't sign its first national agreement with GE until 1938, more than a year after the big auto strike victory in General Motors. The UE didn't win a signed contract with Westinghouse until 1941, again moving in behind the Ford and Little Steel strike victories of that year.

As for political education, the CP fuehrers outdid Lewis and Murray in spreading the false gospel that Roosevelt was the savior of the working class and that labor should give unstinted support to the Democratic Party. They were just as ruthless as Murray in crushing all movements that favored independent political action for labor.

SPEEDUP ARTISTS

After the Nazi attack on Russia, the Stalinist leaders let out all stops in their company-union type of campaign to convert the UE into one vast speed-up factory. They began working hand-in-glove with the corporations and the FBI to run militants out of the plants. For once they took the lead in the American labor movement — in building "labor-management committees" to speed up production and introduce incentive schemes and piece work. **Under the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that UE shops are cursed with piecework systems and working conditions and wages far inferior to those in auto or steel.**

The Matles-Emspak-Fitzgerald crew is again making a big show of pseudo-militancy. But this is confined to tall talk and hot air. In the third wage round fight, they criticized — quite correctly — the inadequate and timorous wage policies of Murray and Reuther. But as for carrying out any militant policy themselves, they were simply not there. After GE and Westinghouse said "No" to their demands, these self-styled militants just stood around helplessly until the Chrysler strikers broke through the manufacturers' front and established the pattern of the third wage round.

This year the "three musketeers" in the UE are repeating the same sorry performance. Their militancy is strictly limited to thundering proclamations in the UE News and the Daily Worker. **The wage policies of Murray and Reuther are certainly nothing to brag about. But at least the steel and Ford workers have taken strike votes and are engaged in some kind of action to win wage concessions. The UE leaders are again waiting for some other union to take the lead and bail them out.**

Now that the Stalinist machine in the UE is in a showdown fight with Murray, it is doing of lot of propagandizing for union democracy and rank and file control. Its own record in the UE makes a mockery of these proclamations. Until the eruption of the present faction struggle, the UE was one of the worst machine-ridden outfits in the CIO. Every semblance of opposition was consistently and brutally squelched. These so-called "radical" leaders cooperated with the companies against their own rank and filers. In the 1947 convention, the Stalinists tried to outlaw oppositions by declaring the Carey caucus an "outside agency" and summarily ordering it to disband.

Just a few weeks ago, the Stalinist-dominated General Executive Board at its special session in New York voted to recommend that the coming convention change the constitution to grant the GEB dictatorial powers to try members in any local union and expel them if they see fit. **The Stalinists in the auto union denounced a similar proposal as bureaucratic and dictatorial when Reuther proposed it at the UAW convention in Milwaukee. Now these phony democrats are themselves trying to ram such a measure through in the UE to safeguard their own discredited machine.**

THE CAREY GROUP

After the war conditions were especially favorable for the growth of an opposition in the UE, because large segments of the membership became increasingly disgusted with the Stalinist policies. But the old Carey opposition that came to life again at this time could not win the support of most of the genuine UE militants. The opposition, calling itself the "Committee for Democratic Action," did not find fault with the Stalinist sell-outs of the war period.

They were opposed to the leadership solely because it was lined up with the Kremlin whereas they wanted to line up the UE behind the U. S. State Department. Their stock-in-trade consisted of wrapping themselves in the American flag and howling for the Marshall Plan and support of Truman and the Democratic Party, coupled with furious and unrestrained red-baiting. The spiritual advisers of the opposition were the so-called labor priests of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, whose over-all aim is to destroy all progressivism and radicalism in the labor movement.

BANKRUPTCY

Naturally, the bulk of the UE membership, despite considerable resentment against the Stalinist leaders, did not find this kind of opposition too attractive and did not want to entrust it with the direction of the union's affairs. The Carey group, although it enjoyed the backing of the national CIO bureaucrats, was decisively defeated in both the 1947 and 1948 conventions by approximately 2 to 1 majorities — at a time when the membership was seething with dissatisfaction and the Stalinists were in retreat throughout the CIO. These facts constitute the most eloquent condemnation possible of the Carey faction.

The opposition, despairing after the 1947 convention of taking over the UE, worked up, under the inspiration of the ACTU, its "secession policy." In collusion with Reuther and other CIO leaders, it began calling for Taft-Hartley board elections in all plants where it had sufficient influence to swing the vote. This secession movement reached alarming proportions. But the unscrupulous use of the Taft-Hartley board and cooperation with the employers was discrediting the opposition even further among the UE members. After the Portland CIO convention the word went down to cut out the secession game and try again to win a majority of the membership inside the UE.

Since that time, the Carey forces have been waging a furious faction campaign in an effort to win the local unions. Mindful of their bad reputation among progressive workers, the group has made a special effort to get its face lifted and appear more militant to the UE membership. In its national conference held in Dayton last May, it adopted a policy statement and a number of resolutions which outline at least a partially constructive program for the union. But this was merely paying lip-service to militancy. The campaigns in the local unions continued to be conducted on a viciously red-baiting level, with the main emphasis on all-out support of "national CIO policy."

With the steady drift of the Murray bureaucracy to the right, the Carey opposition has grown increasingly reactionary and hostile to all militant ideas. After winning a number of important local union elections in the spring, in large part on the basis of red-baiting, the Carey group has now again aroused the antagonism of large sections of UE members because of its blatant reactionary appeals. Today it is widely predicted that the Stalinists will retain control of the UE, although by a smaller margin than at last year's convention.

WHAT POSITION?

Now, what position should independent militants adopt in the current battle for control of the UE? They are caught in the cross-fire of two powerful machines, both reactionary and unworthy of the support of progressive unionists. The big lack in the UE is that the militants do not have an independent group of their own such as exists in the auto and other CIO unions. The two bureaucracies always confront the UE membership with the unenviable choice of the devil or the deep blue sea. The first task of the UE militants, therefore, is to remedy this state of affairs by working out their own program of action and solidifying their forces around it.

The planks of such a program are already at hand and have been proposed at different times by various progressive local unions in both the UE and the CIO. They include such policies as industry-wide bargaining and common termination dates for all contracts, an over-all militant policy against the bosses, democracy and rank and file control, 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, a break with capitalist politics and the formation of a labor party, as well as a strong stand against any Murray policy of expelling unions from the CIO or Stalinist adventures of seceding from the CIO.

MORE IMPORTANT

If the militants would go to work to organize a new third group independent of both the Stalinist and the Murray-Carey machines and rally support behind such a program, and if this idea was effectively voiced on the floor of the Cleveland convention, that would be more important than any small-time maneuvers over posts and the best possible starting point for rallying the UE membership behind a new force and a genuinely militant program. **It is the only way for the UE membership to break out of the vicious circle of the present faction fight between two unscrupulous power caucuses and set the union back on the high road of progress.**

UE President

ALBERT FITZGERALD

NMU Seamen Need Fighting Program Against the Bosses

By R. Bell

The CIO Nat'l Maritime Union convention, which opens Sept. 12, meets under the ominous cloud of a mounting employer offensive against the organized labor movement. The Wall Street tycoons who dominate American industry have arrogantly rejected the demand of the workers in the basic mass production industries. Growing unemployment, together with the failure to repeal the union-busting Taft-Hartley Law, has emboldened the hate-labor gang in its drive to smash the unions and lower the living standards of the working people.

MAIN PROBLEMS

Against this background, the main problems confronting the NMU seamen today are (1) defense of the union hiring hall, (2) unemployment, and (3) conditions aboard ship. Thus far, the leadership has failed to submit an integrated program of action to cope with these problems. They have relied, almost exclusively, on the so-called "friends of labor" in Washington who have proven long on words but short on deeds.

The Democratic victory was hailed as a "great labor victory." Yet the Taft-Hartley Law remains, unemployment is increasing, civil rights legislation has been scuttled, the union-busters are on a rampage. Still the illusion is being fostered that the election of a few more Democratic and Republican "friends" in 1950 will correct this situation. But experience proves that when the chips are down, the so-called "friends" usually wind up in the camp of the enemy.

CONGRESS OF LABOR

In contrast to this policy, a number of ships have submitted resolutions calling for a United Congress of Labor composed of representatives of the CIO, AFL and independent unions, to convene in Washington for the purpose of drawing up a program of action to defend the unions against the employer-government union-busting drive. The NMU National Council has endorsed these resolutions. But nothing has been done to put the proposal into effect.

With both the national CIO and AFL conventions scheduled to convene within a month or so, the NMU is in a position to initiate a real movement for a United Congress of Labor. The union hiring hall is in jeopardy. The Circuit Court has upheld the NLRB suit to outlaw the NMU hiring hall. With the Taft-Hartley Law still in existence, it is almost certain that the Supreme Court will uphold the decision of the lower courts.

FOLLY TO SIT BACK

Although special legislation has been introduced to exempt the hiring hall from the anti-closed shop provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law, it would be folly to sit back and wait, in view of what already has transpired in Congress. A United Labor Congress would have as its first point on the agenda the mobilization of the labor movement for outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law.

A United Labor Congress could rally the unions for the fight against unemployment by demanding a reduction in the hours of work with no reduction in pay. It could take up the fight for civil rights and throw the weight of the organized labor movement behind the struggle of the Negro people for equality.

Above all, a Congress of Labor would have to review the political role of labor in the light of past experience. Such an examination must lead to the conclusion that it is necessary to break with the policy of supporting candidates of the boss-controlled Democratic and Republican Parties and launch an Independent Labor Party based on the unions.

SEEK WAY OUT

A large majority of the delegates attending the NMU convention will come off the ships. They have seen conditions deteriorate, union militants fired and blacklisted, the shipowners growing more arrogant. Conference table unionism based on the fiction of labor-management cooperation, compulsory mediation and arbitration has led the union up a blind alley. They are seeking a way out.

Instead of a solution to their problems they find the leadership again diverting their energies into a struggle around the issue of internal union democracy. The Curran group has proclaimed that the main issue confronting the convention is the adoption of an "anti-communist" clause in the union's constitution. This presumably would provide an immediate "solution" to all problems. Everything else is to be left as is!

CAN'T RELY ON LEADERS

Under the circumstances it is obvious that the delegates cannot depend on the leadership for guidance in working out the necessary program of action. Such a program will have to come from the ranks. Present indications are that the various tendencies will be organized in caucus formation with the important issues slated for heated debate on the convention floor.

The pre-convention line-up is taking place on the basis of the only issue so far presented: for or against the "anti-communist" amendment. It will be impossible to determine accurately in advance the relationship of forces at the convention. But it is already evident that a large number of delegates opposed to the amendment want no part of the discredited Communist Party machine. It is in this tendency that the greatest hope lies for a program of independent working class action that corresponds to the needs of the membership.

Can't Live on $14,000

Carl A. Ilgenfritz (left), $70,000 a year vice-president of U. S. Steel, talks to Sen. Millard Tydings after Senate committee approved his appointment as $14,000-a-year chairman of the munitions board. Senate opposition is shaping up because Ilgenfritz says he can't live on $14,000 a year and intends to receive his full pay from U. S. Steel while on the board.